

## Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, HU

SUBJECT: HELSINKI SUMMIT: KISSINGER-PUJA MEETING

REF: STATE 176288 AND BUDAPEST 2394

1. DEPARTMENT'S INITIATIVE IN PROPOSING PUJA MEETING WITH SECRETARY AT HELSINKI COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE TIMELY. EVEN HUNGARIAN MAN IN STREET AWARE OF PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULED VISITS TO WARSAW, BUCHAREST AND BELGRADE; AND MAGYAR OFFICIALDOM NOT UNAWARE THAT NUMEROUS U.S. MILITARY AND CIVIL AIRCRAFT WILL OVERFLY THEIR COUNTRY VERY SHORTLY EN ROUTE TO ROMANIA.

2. IN ADDITION, OF COURSE, OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH SECRETARY SHOULD SERVE AS POULTICE FOR PUJA'S WOUNDED PRIDE (BUDAPEST 1527 AND STATE 142528). IN THAT SAME CONNECTION WE HAVE VERY DELIBERATELY REFRAINED FROM RESPONDING TO PARA 3 STATE 142528 RE POSSIBILITY OF INVITING PUJA TO WASHINGTON DURING UNGA SESSION. WE RECALL THAT PUJA WAS CRUDE AND UNCIVIL IN HIS MAY 1974 MEETINGS IN BUDAPEST WITH ITALIAN FONMIN MORO (BUDAPEST 1347, MAY 30, 1974); HIS DECEMBER 1974 EXCHANGES WITH UK MINISTER OF STATE HATTERSLEY ABOUT CSCE (BUDAPEST 3483, DECEMBER 19, 1974) WERE LESS THAN CONSTRUCTIVE; HIS MAY 1975 TALKS WITH DANISH FONMIN ANDERSEN (BUDAPEST 1268) WERE PATENT ATTEMPT TO BULLY HIS VISITOR. ON OTHER HAND HUNGARIAN FONMIN'S JUNE 5-JUNE 6 VISIT TO PARIS, HIS FIRST TO THE FRENCH CAPITAL, WENT OFF WITHOUT A HITCH; PUJA, ACCORDING FRENCH SOURCES HERE, IN HIS

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MEETINGS WITH SAUVAGNARGUES AND GISCARD D'ESTAING CONDUCTED

SELF WITH SKILL, DIGNITY AND FINESSE THAT HE HAD ONLY RARELY DISPLAYED BEFORE. ALTHOUGH WELL-BEHAVED IN HIS PERSONAL DEALINGS WITH SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER, PUJA FLAWED HIS JUNE 11-JUNE 12 BONN VISIT BY FOOLISHLY RAISING THE REPARATIONS ISSUE (BUDAPEST 2117). AT THIS VERY MOMENT WE ARE WAITING TO LEARN HOW THE TALKS ARE GOING WITH BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY JAMES CALLAGHAN WHO IS VISITING BUDAPEST JULY 28-JULY 29.

3. SOME EXPERT PUJA-WATCHERS HERE ASSERT THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER PLAYS ROLE OF THE HEAVY ON HIS HOME TURF IN HIS DEALINGS WITH FOREIGNERS SO THAT JANOS KADAR, PRESIDENT LOSONCZI, ET ALL CAN APPEAR SWEET AND REASONABLE IN CONTRAST. THAT THEORY WILL NOT STAND SCRUTINY: IN MEETINGS WITH CODELS WILSON AND WHELAN (JANUARY 1975 AND APRIL 1975) PUJA WAS REASONABLE, RESPECTFUL AND GENTLEMANLY. OTHERS CLAIM THAT PUJA ILL AT EASE, STIFF, AND BRUSQUE WHEN WORKING THROUGH AN INTERPRETER, AND IS INCLINED TO SPEECHIFY IN DOGMATIC TERMS. THEREFORE, THEY ARGUE, IT IS BEST TO DEAL WITH HIM IN GERMAN AS SAUVAGNARGUES DID SO SUCCESSFULLY. BUT THAT THEORY WILL NOT STAND CLOSE INSPECTION EITHER FOR IT FAILS TO EXPLAIN PUJA'S IMPRESSIVE PERFORMANCE WITH CONGRESSMEN WILSON AND WHELAN IN BUDAPEST.

4. WE FOR OUR PART SUSPECT THAT PUJA, WHO LIKE MOST OF HIS COUNTRYMEN CANNOT RECALL ANY SIGNAL HUNGARIAN MILITARY VICTORIES OR NATIONAL SUCCESSES IN RECENT CENTURIES, RESPECTS POWER AND STYLE. IF REPEAT IF PUJA BEHAVES WELL IN HELSINKI, WE RECOMMEND THAT SECRETARY EXPRESS INTEREST IN LENGTHIER, LESS HURRIED DISCUSSION OF MANY SPECIFIC ISSUES THAT NEED RESOLUTION. SUBSEQUENTLY, COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT OR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN COULD TELL DEPFONMIN NAGY THAT, DEPENDING OF COURSE ON SECRETARY'S BUSY SCHEDULE, DEPARTMENT MIGHT BE ABLE TO ARRANGE BRIEF 36 HOUR INFORMAL WORKING VISIT TO WASHINGTON DURING UNGA.

5. WE ARE MORALLY CERTAIN THAT, AFTER RECENT WELL PUBLICIZED VISITS TO PARIS AND BONN AND FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN'S CURRENT STOPOVER HERE, PUJA LUSTS FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONFER WITH THE SECRETARY IN WASHINGTON AND THAT HE COVETS FOR HIS MANTELPIECE A PHOTOGRAPH OF HIMSELF IN OVAL ROOM AT WHITE SECRET

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HOUSE. WHAT WE DO NOT KNOW IS THE THINKING OF JANOS KADAR; BUT PUJA'S BEHAVIOR DURING AND AFTER AUGUST 1 MEETING WITH SECRETARY IN HELSINKI SHOULD PRIVIDE A FEW INDICATIONS.

6. IN SUM, IT IS OUR RECOMMENDATION THAT ONE TREAT PUJA WITH BOTH COURTESY AND STYLE -- AND WITH THE SELF SAME FIRMNESS THAT ANOTHER GREAT POWER EMPLOYS TO HOLD THE HUNGARIANS IN AWE. IF HE IS ALLOWED TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THIS

AMERICAN OVERTURE, THE PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUING NORMALIZATION  
OF US-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS ARE BRIGHT.  
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